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Cosmopolitan women educators, 1920-1939: inside/outside activism and abjection

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Abstract

This article explores Thomas Popkewitz's and Kwame Appiah's discussion of cosmopolitanism by looking at practices, spaces and subjectivities in the work of three little-known women, Amelie Arato, Amni Hallsten-Kallia and Rachel Gampert. It examines cosmopolitanism through systems of knowledge, unpacks cosmopolitanism and gender at particular historical moments, and looks at national as well as international narratives. Arato provides a starting point to look at practices, at challenges and tensions of cosmopolitanism as mode of enquiry, at conversations across borders through the scientization of knowledge, and at categories that locate women in in-between spaces that both include and exclude. With Hallsten-Kallia, the challenges and tensions of cosmopolitanism as movement through social space for women form the focus. Here, conversations across borders from her insider/outsider position illuminate gender, positionality and opportunities and limitations on agency within the making of the woman cosmopolitan. Gampert's concern with the married woman teacher becomes a springboard to think about subjectivities, challenges and tensions for cosmopolitanism in holding together divergent national narratives and a universal frame.

Three women whose paths crossed?

In 1930 Amelie Arato, an Hungarian teacher from Budapest, set off at the instigation of the International Federation of University Women [IFUW] on a two-year sabbatical to investigate girls' secondary education in Europe and America.[1] Arato visited schools in the United States and 30 countries in eastern, central and western Europe. Her analysis, *L'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles en Europe,* was published in Belgium in 1934 under the auspices of the IFUW.[2] It reflected IFUW views that the provision of secondary education for girls should

[1] IFUW, *Fifteenth Council Meeting – Prague, July 1930*, 40.

[2] Amelie Arato, *L'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles en Europe* (Bruxelles, Anc. Etabliss. J. Lebègue & Cie, 1934).

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open the doors of the University to women, and that women should play their full part in the management of schools and on the boards that made decisions about educational policy, provision and practice.

When Arato arrived at the International Bureau of Education [IBE] in Geneva in 1931,[3] Rachel Gampert had returned to the IBE's information section after seven months of study in England.[4] While Arato was preparing her publication, Gampert began her enquiry into the status of married woman teachers.[5] Gampert's report, conducted in liaison with the International Labour Organisation [ILO] at Geneva, was published in 1933 by the IBE, Gampert's investigation covered 42 countries, including Latin America and South Africa.[6] Gampert saw the status of the married woman teacher as the question of the day. She wrote her report against a background in which the economic constraints of the 1930s were being disproportionately applied to married women and linked in many countries with a conservative post-war vision that called on women to leave paid labour to men and to return to home and motherhood[7]

Whether Arato met with the Finnish Amni Hallsten-Kallia in Geneva in 1931 remains a matter of conjecture, but the paths of the two women crossed on a number of occasions. In 1931 Hallsten-Kallia was working in the Intellectual Co-operation Section of the League of Nations [SDN] in Geneva. Arato was president of the Hungarian Association of University Women. She had been a delegate at the IFUW Conference in 1929 when Hallsten-Kallia conveyed greetings from the SDN Secretariat's section of Intellectual Co-operation and from the Committee of Intellectual Co-operation. At this conference, Hallsten-Kallia became a member of the IFUW Committee for the Interchange of Secondary School Teachers.[8] In 1932 she joined the

[3] *Bulletin of the IBE*, July 1931, 91.

[4] *Bulletin of the IBE*, April 1930, 2; January 1931, 5.

[5] "Questionnaire on the status of the married woman teacher," *Bulletin of the IBE*, July 1932: 104.

[6] IBE, *La situation de la femme mariée dans l'enseignement* (Genève, Bureau International D'Education, 1933).

[7] Ann Taylor Allen, *Women in Twentieth Century Europe* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2008), 22.

[8] IFUW, *Fifth Conference – Geneva, 1929*: 7.

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IFUW Committee for Intellectual Co-operation,[9] which she convened from 1933.[10] Arato became a member of the IFUW Committee for the Exchange of Information on Secondary Education. Both women attended IFUW council meetings and conferences.

Three women who moved through similar social spaces and international networks and engaged with inter-war knowledge economies around the education of girls and the position of women in education that transcended the nation state. Three women who exemplify the cosmopolitan individual using reason and science to perfect the future. Thomas Popkewitz notes:

> The thesis of cosmopolitanism was the Enlightenment's hope of the world citizen, whose commitments transcended provincial and local concerns with ideal values about humanity. Cosmopolitanism embodied a radical historical thesis about human reason in changing the world and people. The reforms of society were to produce transcendent ethics in the search for progress built on human rights and hospitality to others. [11]

Kwame Appiah points up two key strands of cosmopolitanism that intertwine: first, obligations to others that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind, or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship; and second the value of particular human lives, and an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance.[12] Similarity and difference, the local and the global, the particular and the international intertwine in Appiah's account of cosmopolitanism:

> People are different, the cosmopolitan knows, and there is much to learn from our differences. Because there are so many human

[9] IFUW, *Sixth Conference – Edinburgh, 1932*: 5.

[10] Ibid; "Committee for Intellectual Co-operation," IFUW, *Report 1933-34*, 31.

[11] Thomas Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism and the Age of School Reform. Science, Education and Making Society by Making the Child* (London: Routledge, 2008), 1.

[12] Kwame Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism. Ethics in a World of Strangers* (London: Penguin, 200)6, xiii.

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> possibilities worth exploring, we neither expect nor desire that every person or every society should converge on a single mode of life. Whatever our obligations are to others (or theirs to us) they often have the right to go their own way … there will be times when [the] two ideals – universal concern and respect for legitimate difference – clash. There's a sense in which cosmopolitanism is the name not of the solution but of the challenge.[13]

Faced with this challenge, Appiah calls us to develop habits of coexistence, or conversation in its older meaning of living together, but conversation without a promise of final agreement.[14] Popkewitz shows that cosmopolitanism as challenge includes processes by which ideas about liberty and freedom, human agency, reason and rationality build on ideas about unreason and unreasonableness[15] in which particular qualities of people are cast out and excluded from the spaces of inclusion in a process termed abjection.

Cosmopolitanism as practice : gendered modes of enquiry

Studies like that of Arato were framed in order to underpin action, to influence debate and to bring about change where girls and women were concerned. In her methodological approach to reading the world, Arato adopted well-established approaches to comparative study.[16] She took a sector, secondary education, and portrayed six models of stratified education systems. She outlined the national organisation and position of girls and boys within the system (single sex or co-education): Le système des types séparés; Le système de la bifurcation; Le système mixte

[13] Ibid., xiii.

[14] Ibid., 44.

[15] Popkewitz, *Cosmopolitanism*, 4, 6.

[16] Analysis draws on Robert Cowan, "Agendas of Attention: A Response to Bunnes and Burnett," *Comparative Education* 39, no.3 (2003): 299-302; idem "Last Past the Post: Comparative Education, Modernity and Perhaps Post-Modernity," *Comparative Education* vol.32, no.2 (1996): 151-170.

(type et bifurcation); système parallèle; Le système traditionel; and L'école secondaire unique. She investigated intellectual education, including hours of schooling, curricula, examinations and organization of lessons; physical education, including health and hygiene; and moral education, including preparation for future roles. She looked at the position of women in education, including teacher training, women teachers and head teachers, women inspectors, and the position of women in educational administration.[17]

Arato presented much of her data and its analysis through diagrams that illustrate the structure of national educational systems and through tables of quantitative data. Her's was a methodological grammar for ordering, classifying and differentiating the world in a shorthand for educational administrators and experts found in other education publications of the period.[18] In her international frame,[19] It was the nation state rather than relations between nations that played a part as she juxtaposed descriptions of phenomena separated by national borders and boundaries. The nation and its educational arrangements were illustrative of aspects pertaining to the European institution of secondary education: age pyramids and the sharpening of boundaries between the school and the university; and segmentation and social mobility as these were made manifest through different patterns.[20] She used a recognised methodological framework based on factors that existed before the facts were collected. Her diagrammatical technologies and tabular ordering constituted compressed and quantitative distillations of political, social and economic formations, that included redefinitions of the past and visions of the future conveyed in the guise of 'impartial knowledge'. This linear concept of time past, present and future did not take account of the cultural, biographical and political

[17] Arato, *L'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles en Europe*, pp.29ff for structure diagrams.

[18] See: IBE, *L'organisatie de'l'instruction publique dans 53 pays* (Genève: IBE, 1933).

[19] For distinctions between comparative and international approaches see: David Phillips and Michele Schweisfurth, *Comparative and International Education* (New York: Continuum, 2007).

[20] Robert Anderson, "The Idea of the Secondary School in Nineteenth Century Europe," *Paedagogica Historica* 40, nos 1&2 (2004): 93-106.

contexts in which educational systems have their long duree.[21] The result was a transportable transnational methodology.[22]

Cowan points to the relationship in comparative educational research between what he terms agendas of approach and agendas of attention: the interconnectivities between internal readings of displays of disciplinary form and external readings that comprehend the cosmopolitan and its politics, and the interconnectivities between the work of the individual scholar within intellectual traditions and the time-space world that is being interpreted.[23] Tracing interconnectivities between Arato's displays of disciplinary form and the time space work of the IFUW highlights processes of inclusion and exclusion compressed in Arato's account. These are exemplified by her approach to markers of cultural and personal identity around language and national minorities. The mode of inclusion of national minorities became an issue for the IFUW when German speaking University women in Czecho-Slovakia,[24] Ukrainian women living in the Soviet republic of the Ukraine and Poland,[25] and Russian women émigrés in France, Germany and Czechoslovakia [26] each applied for affiliation as a group on the basis of cultural unity. At stake were IFUW understandings of Appiah's two strands of cosmopolitan, or the relationship between internationalism and what the IFUW termed patriotism.

The relationship between internationalism and patriotism in the IFUW resonated with understandings of Idealism found in the national contexts of the IFUW's Anglo-American founders. Julia Stapleton highlights the complexities in the relationship between citizenship,

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[21] Analysis draws on: Robert Cowan, "Moments of Time: a Comparative Note," *History of Education* 31, no.5 (2002): 417, 420; idem, "Comparing Futures or Comparing Pasts," *Comparative Education* vol.36, no.3 (2000): 333- 342, 341.

[22] David Livingstone, "Science, Text and Space: Thoughts on the Geography of Reading," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30 (2005): 359.

[23] Cowan, "Agendas of Attention," 300-1.

[24] "Seventh Council Meeting," IFUW, *Report of the Third Conference, Christiania, July 1924*, 7.

[25] IFUW, *Report of Council Meeting Brussels, 1925*, 4, 5.

[26] IFUW, *Fifteenth Council Meeting Prague, July 1930,* 47.

patriotism, nationality and religion in British Idealist thought. She notes that Idealism sought to detach citizenship from the idea of the nation as a discrete unit of society, yet held on to a notion of patriotism rooted in "common ways of feeling and thinking" and the "intelligent patriot" as the key source of the moral life of society conceived in Kantian, universalistic terms.[27] In the IFUW this was articulated via the
"international mind", a language of description through which the IFUW framed its understandings of cosmopolitanism. The international mind drew on Nansen's statement to the IFUW that the development of the international mind formed the remedy for the unrest, uncertainty and depression of the world. "That mind", he said, "meant willingness to work for all nations, not only for ourselves and our own nations". The international mind was to give the world and humanity new ideals.[28] For Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard and IFUW vice-president, the international mind was framed in liberal discourses of equality within the wider understandings of humanity as a whole that constituted a shift in rhetoric in inter-war women's organisations. Gildersleeve saw the international mind largely in terms of the disembodied individual transcending sexual identification. She told the 1924 IFUW Conference:

> We are not a body of educationists discussing educational problems; nor are we a body of women discussing feminist problems; these already exist and do fine work, but we are first and foremost a body of trained and thinking people of many different nationalities, who desire to approach certain problems from the point of view … of humanity as a whole, rather than of individuals, professions, sex, class, or even nations.[29]

Caroline Spurgeon, Professor of English Literature at the University of London and IFUW President, saw IFUW members as those who "by reason of a common type of education and training, have also in common certain traditions and ideals and who in a very real sense,

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[27] Julia Stapleton, "Citizenship Versus Patriotism in Twentieth Century England," *The Historical Journal* 48, no.1 (2005): 158, 159.

[28] IFUW, "Professor Fridtjof Nansen,," IFUW, *Christiania Conference 1924*, 20.

[29] IFUW, *Christiania Conference 1924,* 29.

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therefore, speak a common language."[30] Inclusion and exclusion from the cultural intelligentsia of the IFUW was managed by its Committee on Standards, which ascertained the membership qualifications required by national associations. While Gildersleeve invoked humanity as a whole, IFUW members were limited to countries where indigenous women had received Western style university education.[31]A similar approach to vetting the level of qualifications granted by colleges in the American Association of University Women (AAUW) resulted in very few black women becoming members during the late 1930s, despite being qualified under AAUW terms.[32] Within the IFUW the international mind as language obfuscated issues of race and class.

The language of the international mind comprised a national component around "the right sort of patriotism" that encoded processes of inclusion and abjection that exercised the IFUW within its universal call to humanity. Gildersleeve told the 1924 Christiania conference:

> We came away from the Conference realizing very vividly the fundamental likeness of the various nations in our ideals of scholarship, of truth and of justice and how we could help one another in achieving these great ends. Just as vividly and with even more interest, we realised our striking peculiarities and differences, - all comprehensible, reasonable and even likeable when really known. The greatest need of mankind at this critical moment is that all nations should learn to be good citizens of the world, to harmonize the right sort of patriotism, with regard for humanity as a whole.[33]

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[30] IFUW, "Address by Professor Caroline Spurgeon," IFUW *1920 Conference*, 10.

[31] Marie Sandell,."Truly "International": International Federation of University Women's quest for expansion in the interwar period," Unpublished paper, Women's History National Network Conference, Winchester, 2007.

[32] Susan Levine, *Degrees of Equality. The American Association of University Women and the Challenge of Twentieth-Century Feminism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), 107.

[33] IFUW, *Christiania Conference 1924*, 4.

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Similarly, Madeleine Bonnet noted that the aim of the French Federation of University Women was to develop the spirit of nationalism and the spirit of internationalism for their mutual illumination and service.[34]

A university woman was admitted to the IFUW through a national federation in her own country. The position of the German speaking University women in Czecho-Slovakia,[35] the Ukrainian women living in the Soviet republic of the Ukraine and Poland,[36] and the Russian women émigrés in France, Germany and Czechoslovakia[37] were much debated. It was not cultural aspects of identity that informed the IFUW's decision about membership. The decision rested on traditional classifications around post Enlightenemnt notions of territoriality connected to statehood and citizenship. Ukrainian women were admitted to a separate section of the Polish Federation,[38] and Russian émigré women remained in Russian sections of the French, German and Czechoslovakian Federations of University women.[39] This located women in in-between spaces of inclusion and exclusion that repeated tensions and struggles around national and cultural belonging for groups of women. Arato's approach to markers of cultural and personal identity around language built on similar understandings that cast minorities simultaneously inside/outside the nation in ways that were highly political and overlooked the differing time frames of struggles around national belonging.

Arato's scientized research practice contained its opposite: a relational strand. In the cosmopolitanism of the IFUW, relationships and conversations across borders were central to understandings of the international mind. Caroline Spurgeon spoke of the IFUW weaving together "individual strands of friendship to form indestructible bonds to bind people together

[34] "French Federation," IFUW, *Christiania Conference 1924*, 52.

[35] IFUW, *Seventh Council Meeting*; idem, *Christiania Conference 1924*, 7.

[36] IFUW, Report *of Council Meeting Brussels, 1925*, 4, 5.

[37] IFUW, *Fifteenth Council Meeting Prague July 1930*, 47.

[38] "*Fourth Conference, Amsterdam, 1926*, 23.

[39] IFUW, *Fifteenth Council Meeting Prague July 1930*, 47.

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the world over."[40] Germaine Hannevart, Belgian Federation President, who chaired the IFUW Committee on Secondary Education, saw personal contact with teachers in other countries as a key aspect of teacher training that would enable teachers to inspire their pupils to think, rather than simply to assimilate facts.[41] The Committee for the Interchange of Teachers, of which Hallsten-Kallia was a member, worked to facilitate this agenda. Arato's personal visits to educationists, organisations and schools for data collection were framed within the necessity for personal relationships and contact enshrined in IFUW views of cosmopolitanism. As cosmopolitan researcher constructing scientized knowledge in the context of an international woman's organisation, conversations across borders meant holding together the dispassionate with the personal, the universal with the particular but in a methodology that also brought forth abjection.

Cosmopolitanism and social space: opportunities and limitations on agency

As Fuchs notes, education, with its suggestion of "interference" in the rights of nation states to organise schooling, was not explicitly mentioned in the Covenant of the SDN, although responsibility was taken for the protection of children and intellectual co-operation was provided for through the creation of the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC) in 1922.[42]

Intellectual Co-operation aimed to promote "collaboration between nations in all fields of intellectual effort in order to foster a spirit of international understanding as a means to the

[40] "Address by Professor Caroline Spurgeon," IFUW, *Report of First Conference, 1920,* 11.

[41] "Committee on Secondary Education," IFUW, *Report of Council Meeting in Brussels, 1925*, 43.

[42] Fuchs, Eckhardt, "Networks and the History of Education," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no.2 (2007): 201.

preservation of peace."[43] By 1926 the international organisation of Intellectual Co-operation, consisted of:

- The ICIC at the SDN in Geneva
- Three institutions: an Intellectual Co-operation Section in the SDN Secretariat at Geneva (where Hallsten Kallia worked); an International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (IIC) at Paris; and an International Educational Cinematographic Institute in Rome
- Committees of Experts
- National Committees of Intellectual Co-operation to serve as a link between the ICIC and its committees of experts and the intellectual life in the various countries. [44]

This provided opportunities for a large number of personal and organisational contacts in social spaces in which internationalism, transnationalism, multi-nationalism and intersecting histories of feminism, civil rights, education, health-care and welfare co-existed alongside expert knowledge and bureaucratised and personal relationships.[45]

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[43] League of Nations. *International Intellectual Co-operation 1933* (Paris: International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, 1934): 3-5.

[44] League of Nations. *The League of Nations and International Co-operation* (Geneva: League of Nations Secretariat, 1927): 6; idem. *International Intellectual Co-operation 1933,* 159.

[45] This framing draws on Clavin, Patricia and Jens-Wilhelm Wessels, "Transnationalism and the League of Nations: Understanding the Work of its Economic and Financial Organisation," *Contemporary European History* 14, no.4 (2005): 492. I use 'transnational' following Vellacott, for whom transnationalism 'denotes 'extending beyond or across national boundaries' and 'negotiation based on common interests among people on either side of the artificial line on the map'. 'Transnational' is differentiated from 'international' which denotes 'between nations' and 'international negotiations.. a balancing of national interests between high-level representatives of both sides, charged with getting the best possible for their own country at the least cost in concessions to the other side'.Jo Vellacott,. "Transnationalism in the Early Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," in *The Pacifist Impulse in Historical Perspective,* ed. Harvey L Dyck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966): 376.

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Linked with this structure were the committees of intellectual co-operation of the international women's organisations. Attitudes towards the best means of relating to the SDN differed markedly between the international women's organisations.[46] This mirrored debate in many political organisations of the time and in the international labour movement over the value of the SND, the value of seeking to influence governments by democratic methods and the desirability of associating with or resisting communist peace movements.[47] Nonetheless, international women's organisations worked together to ensure more women were represented at all levels in the SDN and on its committees and commissions. The IFUW worked closely with the SND and was represented on the Liaison Committee of Major International Associations, which met at the IIC. Founded in 1924 by the fifth assembly of the League, The Liaison Committee assembled international educational and women's organisations whose goal was education for humanity and international understanding.[48] The IBE at Geneva, where Gampert worked, was a member from the start and the IFUW from 1926/27.

As organisations related to health and welfare increasingly joined the Liaison Committee, they were largely represented by women. This gendered pattern of increased female representation related to areas considered feminine may also have reflected decreasing male interest with the growing realisation of the inability of the SDN to deal with a world situation moving inexorably towards war. Nonetheless, the networks of bureaucratised and personal relationships provided a social space for the deployment of cultural and social capital. Sections of the SDN Secretariat were not mandated to formulate policy recommendations but some sections of the SDN Secretariat played a role in the international and transnational

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[46] Leila Rupp, *Worlds of Women. The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997), 212, 213; Glenda Slugga, *The Nation, Psychology and International Politics, 1870-1919* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006), 121.

[47] Bussey, Gertrude and Margaret Tims, *Pioneers for Peace. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1915-1965* (London: WILP British Section, 1980), 125-6; Christine Collette, *The International Faith. Labour's Attitudes to European Socialism, 1918-39* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 6.

[48] Fuchs, Eckhardt,"The Creation of New International Networks in Education: The League of Nations and Educational Organisations in the 1920s," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no.2 (2007): 207.

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relations of the period, as they developed their own policy-agenda for the promotion of international co-operation and worked through the links that they had with other organisations.[49] In her professional journey through the SDN Secretariat, the Liaison Committee, The IFUW, the Finnish Association of University Women and as substitute delegate to the League of Nations for Finland,[50] Hallsten-Kallia both deployed and accrued social capital as resource. Liaison Committee records show that she used her historical organisational memory to present herself as authoritative in a context in which few members served on a long-term basis. As convenor of the IFUW Committee on Intellectual Co-operation she was placed at the conjunction of multiple flows of information: insider member of a matrix of intellectual co-operation and women's networks.

While women flocked to Geneva to attend SDN assemblies, the arenas in which debate was engaged in the SDN were male dominated. The chance to appoint women to the SDN, its expert committees and its organisation, was not seized upon by countries with enthusiasm. By 1931, there were only 19 women delegates to the Assembly and only one woman full delegate.[51] This pattern was repeated in the ICIC. From 1922 to 1930 there were only five women members out of a total of 51 and in some years there were no women members at all.[52] In the staffing of the SND, only a few reasonably privileged women were in positions of any influence. Hallsten-Kallia worked to sustain the interactive nature of the boundaries of the transnational community of women and of educators, through the two-way flow of information from her position as insider in the women's networks and from within the networks of intellectual co-operation. But she was largely outsider as woman in the male dominated culture

[49] Andrew Webster,"The Transnational Dream: Politicians, Diplomats and Soldiers in the League of Nations' Pursuit of International Disarmament, 1920-1938," *Contemporary European History* 14, no.4 (2005): 499l.; Clavin, and Wessels, "Transnationalism and the League of Nations," 492.

[50] " Committee for Intellectual Co-operation," Report 1933-34, 31; IFUW. *Fifth Conference – Geneva, 1929.* London: IFUW, 1930: 7; IFUW. *Sixth Conference – Edinburgh, 1932.* London: IFUW, 1932: 5.

[51] Sian Reynolds, *France Between the Wars: Gender and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1996), 186-7.

[52] Jean-Jacques Renoliet, L'Unesco oubliée, la Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle, 1919-1946 (Paris: Sorbonne, 2000), 184-5.

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of the SDN, where stereotyping into women's areas on committees and commissions was widely practised.[53] Her positioning was shaped by gendered relations in the wider educational and political *fields* that also limited opportunities for action. Her's was an in-between gendered status of inclusion and exclusion[54] that characterised much that went under the name of cosmopolitanism when it came to the cosmopolitan woman moving in international circles. Inter-war women's supra-international organisations campaigned to redress this situation.[55]

Cosmopolitan subjectivities: international and national narratives and the married woman teacher

As the economic and political system in Europe deteriorated during the 1930s, the SDN and the ILO were increasingly exercised by the unemployed intellectual worker. The unemployed intellectual worker was discussed in the SDN Liaison Committee and placed on the agenda of the ILO conference in 1935. The IIC sent out a questionnaire to member states of the SDN in 1934 and another in December 1936.[56] The IFUW adopted the language of the intellectual worker but recognised that because so many women with a higher education became teachers that their discussion largely pertained to the unemployment of the married woman teacher.[57] The IFUW framed arguments about the intellectual worker in disembodied universal terms. Margery Corbett Ashby, IFUW committee member and president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, noted that

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[53] But see Jo Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism and Transnationalism in Feminist Theory: the Early Work of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom," *Women's History Review* 2, no.1 (1993): 25-36.

[54] For the inside/outside argument see Jane Martin, "Shena D.Simon and English Education Policy," *History of Education* 32, no.5 (2003): 488.

[55] Rupp, *Worlds of Women,* 38-40.

[56] A resolution of the ICIC, approved by the Assembly of the League in 1936 requested it to conduct an enquiry. In 1937. Marie-Louise Puech, "Unemployment in the Learned Professions, IFUW*," 22nd Council Meeting, Paris, 1937*, 17.

[57] "Professor Cullis", *Fifteenth Council Meeting Prague July 1930*, 29.

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> The possibility for intellectual development was surely the highest privilege that could be given to any human being – a privilege which should be granted without distinction of race, religion class or sex. Women, who have only lately won this privilege should vigorously deny that there is any such thing as over-production of intellectuals; on the contrary they should be ready to extent to other classes the benefits they themselves enjoy. [58]

But the category of intellectual worker repeated the difficulties of gendered discourse around the category woman in SDN and ILO rhetoric. Both organisations regarded women as a group with its own needs and interests that were best understood and served by women: woman as a problem to be dealt with and to be dealt with by nation states wherever possible.[59]

Marie Louise-Puech, sometime chair of the IFUW Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, commenting in 1937 on the enormous increase in young people entering university without assurance they would find the kind of work for which they had been educated, reported that women were often and wrongly considered as "one of the troublesome elements in the problem." [60] Throughout the 1930s, national federation reports to the IFUW deprecated the tendency to debar women from careers and outlined steps taken to counteract what the IFUW termed an anti-feminist reaction against the employment of women engaged in intellectual work.[61] In 1933 the IFUW submitted a resolution to the ILO and to all the leading international organisations. The resolution illustrates Berkovitch's point that professional organisations like

[58] "The Unemployment of Intellectual Workers," IFUW, *Fifth Conference – Geneva, 1929*, 85, Introduction by Margery Corbett Ashby, 85.

[59] Nitza Berkovitch, *From Motherhood to Citizenship* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999), 62.

[60] Puech, "Unemployment in the Learned Professions," 17.

[61] Poland, "Resolutions," *IFUW Report 1933-34,* 56; Latvia, *22nd Council Meeting, Paris, 1937*, 23; Estonia, "Promotion of Interest in Public Affairs," *23rd Council Meeting London, 1938*, 15; Switzerland, IFUW, *Twenty-second Council Meeting, Paris, 1937*, 24; Norway, Ibid., 23; Brazil, Ibid, 24.

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the IFUW argued for the full incorporation of women in public life, while invoking women's image as agents of social improvement.[62]

> Considering that since paid work by women is an integral part of our modern economic organisation, to revert to forms of social organisation of a bygone age will afford no effective solution of the present economic crisis; and considering that unemployment is due not to a shortage of work available but principally to economic complications, for which the remedy cannot be found in limitation of opportunities for work by individuals, but rather in international co—operation through which alone a solution of the problem can be reached; The IFUW strongly deprecates the tendency increasingly evident in the majority of countries by new regulations to debar women from careers for which they are well qualified, whether on grounds of sex or marriage; It considers that such regulations are inimical to the family, which is itself the foundation of society; and desires to affirm its profound conviction that it is only by permitting and encouraging women to play a full and responsible part in the intellectual life of their country that the civilisation and the prosperity of future generations may be developed on a sound basis of general understanding and enlightenment. [63]

Reports from the Italian, Czechoslovakian and Belgian Federations of University Women show how in national campaigns, some national federations articulated particular stances on the married woman intellectual worker that related to their own national cultural and political context. This divergence depended partly on opposing trends on the place of women's work in the economic system. As Berkovitch notes, in Russia and all the countries not hit by the Depression, there was an increase in women's participation in the economy. But this trend was

[62] Berkovitch, *From Motherhood to Citizenship,* 63.

[63] "Resolutions Adopted. The Unemployment of Women," IFUW, *Report 1933-34*, 36

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shadowed by an opposite one that also articulated with the back to the home movement for working mothers promoted especially by Catholic organisations.[64] Van Essen demonstrates how these tendencies played out in the employment of married women teachers in Europe.[65] Narratives and strategies around the intellectual worker might invoke maternalist rhetoric or variants of equal rights and might lead to different positions and strategies in relation to nation state structures and organisation. Divergent stances within the IFUW were possible because of its approach to cosmopolitanism in which the IFUW granted wide discretion to national federations and tried to understand their circumstances and difficulties. [66]

The Italian Federation of University Women illustrates the invocation of maternalist language and subjectivities and a movement away from state structures. Mussolini's regime abolished all socialist and communist women's organisations and created large secular organisations, including the Women's Fascist Organisation from 1919. In 1922 Dr Isabella Grassi, Italian Federation president, brought the attention of the IFUW to legislation that threatened co-education in the universities and secondary schools and threatened the right of women to teach in the higher boys' schools and co-educational classes in the middle schools. Isabella Grassi, who was also secretary to the Italian federation of WILP,[67] adopted maternalist language that was more characteristic of WILP than of the IFUW's rhetoric of the international mind:

> If we are to be anything more than a Trade Union, we, the most cultivated women of Italy, and as such especially responsible for the education of the new generation, must play our part in a truly maternal spirit in social life.[68]

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[64] Berkovitch, *From Motherhood to Citizenship*, 94, 95.

[65] Mineke van Essen, "Strategies of Women Teachers, 1860-1920: Feminization in Dutch Elementary and Secondary Schools from a Comparative Perspective," *History of Education* 28, no.4 (1999): 432.

[66] IFUW, *22nd Council Meeting in Prague, 1937*, 6,7.

[67] Internationale Frauenliga Fur Frieden und Freiheit, *Bericht des Internationalen Frauenkongresse, Zurich 1919* (Genef: WILP, 1920)

[68] "Italian Federation," IFUW *1922-23 Report*, 39.

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In 1922, Grassi told the IFUW that Italian women thought that the National Confederation of Fascist Syndicates of Intellectual Workers offered the best means of defending the rights of professional women.[69] Longer term, however, the Italian Federation considered that better service could be rendered to international ideals by remaining an independent body outside the general Fascist system. This independence was two edged; for the Italian Federation was unable to defend its members publicly in 1934, when a law limited the employment of women. In 1935, the Italian Government invited the Italian Federation to "dissolve spontaneously" on the grounds that its activities threatened to duplicate those of the Associazione Nazionale Fascista Laureate e Artiste.[70] No report from the Italian ministry of education was provided to Gampart about the status or rights of married women teachers in Italy.

In contrast, narratives, subjectivities and strategies in the Czecho-slovakian Federation of University Women were related closely to the creation of the nation state after 1918. Dr Formanova-Novakova, president of the Czecho-slovakian Federation, upheld the newly created state of Czecho-slovakia in her expectation of further advancement of women's rights:

> The spirit of our federation is the same as the spirit of the country – the country which has been long oppressed and then granted freedom. She is free now to bring in all that is new and good and progressive – all that can be learned and invented. She is learning and progressing … but sometimes the effect of the former oppression is still felt in our ways, in our character. But I can tell you with great truth that we are learning hard and sincerely the art of freedom, with all its duties and responsibilities. [71]

She told how the Union of Academic Women was dissolved on the establishment of the Republic because the members thought that there would be nothing further for them to do; for

[69] Dr Grassi, discussion following Henri Fuss, "The Unemployment of Intellectual Workers," IFUW, *Fifth Conference – Geneva, 1929*, 90, 91.

[70] IFUW, *Conference News Sheet 1935*, 10.

[71] "Czecho-Slovak Federation," *IFUW 1922-23 Report,* 27.

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one of the new fundamental laws proclaimed the end of sex discrimination and gave to women rights equal to those of men.[72] In her discourse of freedom, she outlined the growth of girls secondary education and of co-education and the position in the public schools where girls were now admitted on equal terms with boys. Under the Austrian rule women had not been able to teach in boys schools, but the lack of teachers in the first years of the Republic had removed this disability. There was, she said, complete equality of work and payment between man and women teachers. It only remained to hope that they might have seats on the Conseil superieur de l'Enseignement.[73] The Czecho-slovakian ministry of education reported to Gampert that there were no impediments to married women teachers' work.[74] But in1922 Formanova-Novokova had noted that the enthusiasm for freedom which had swept over the country during the first year of the republic had been followed by a time of material hardship and discontent that had affected women disproportionately;[75] and in 1934 she reported that energetic action had been necessary to defend the right of women to exercise their professional training. [76]

The foundation of German, Russian, Moravian sections in the Czecho-slovakian Federation[77] played into the division of women by nationality that resulted in no unified Czechoslovakian women's movement emerging in the interwar period, despite successful co-operation among women of different nationalities. The Depression and Czech perceptions that Germany's rearmament and foreign policy after 1935 endangered Czech security[78] meant that

[72] IFUW, *Fifteenth Council Meeting – Prague July 1930*, 32.

[73] IFUW *Christiania Conference 1924,* 46.

[74] IBE, *La situation de la femme mariée dans l'enseignement,* 76.

[75] IFUW *1922-23 Report*, 53.

[76]"Czecho-Slovak Federation," IFUW, *Report 1933-4*, 46.

[77] "Czecho-Slovak Association," IFUW, *Fourth Conference – Amsterdam 1926*, 132, 132; "Czecho-Slovak Federation," IFUW, *Twelfth Council Meeting – Madrid, 1928,* 57; IFUW, *Fifteenth Council Meeting –* Prague *July 1930.*

[78] Bruce Garver, "Women in the First Czechoslovak Republic," in *Women, State and party in Eastern Europe* (ed.) Sharon Wolchik and Alfred Meyer (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), 78, 80,

when the rightist government took power after 1938, an order was issued dismissing all married women from government posts.[79]

In the Belgian Federation of University Women, in contrast, the move to dismiss married women was resisted with considerable success. Germaine Hannevart and Louise Craene van Duuren, vice president of the Belgian Federation, led energetic protests against proposals in 1933-34 to prohibit married women from public work. Coinciding with a mass protest meeting, letters were sent to all ministers deploring the decree limiting the employment of women as a so-called cure for the unemployment of men. There was a tradition of the Belgian Federation working closely with other organisations and the deputation of major women's organisations to the Prime Minister in 1935 to protest against the measures led by Hannevart included socialist women like Ida Blume as well as teachers.[80] One decree was rescinded and the other suspended.[81]

In contrast to the IFUW's invocation of woman as agent of social improvement, and the maternalist language and subjectivity of Grassi, the Belgian campaign drew on arguments from within the Open Door International for the Economic Emancipation of the Woman Worker (founded 1929) and the Belgian Open Door Council (founded 1930), in both of which Hannevart and Craene van Duuren were founder members.[82] These organisations claimed women's entitlement to full equal rights on the basis of justice alone. Berkovitch notes that the Open Door International sought the elimination of all gender-specific measures, including for maternity, and saw the ILO as the first obstacle for obtaining full economic equality. This located the Belgian Federation far along the margins of legitimate debate of the period.[83] Gampert

[79] Taylor Allen, *Women in Twentieth Century Europe*, 33.

[80] *Peuple*, 9 6 1936, Craene-Van Duuren papers, Amazone Archive, Brussels.

[81] "Summary of the Reports of the National Associations, 1934-36," IFUW, *Seventh Conference – Cracow,* 1936, 113.

[82] Elaine Gubin et al, *Dictionnaire des femmes Belges X1X^e^ et XX^e^ siècles* (Bruxelles, Racine, 2006): 308, 561.

[83] Berkovitch, *From Motherhood to Citizenship,* 63, 92, 93.

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recorded of Belgian women teachers: "De mêmes que dans l'enseignement primarie, les institutrices *mariées* joussent des mêmes droits que les institutrices celibataires, soit pour les conditions d'engagement, soit pour les tratements."[84]

Three narratives and strategies in different cultural and political contexts, differently located towards the nation state, differently envisioning the figure of woman, with divergent outcomes. Three narratives addressing the universal category of the intellectual worker replete with complex meanings of race, religion, nation, gender, sexuality and class, interpreted through different lenses in communities sharing different foundational assumptions and focussed around different subjectivities. Narratives held together because the IFUW granted discretion to national federations and attempted to understand their circumstances; but a position of tension for cosmopolitanism's ideals of universal concern and respect for particular difference. Gildersleeve noted that it led to individuals refraining from condemning practices which as citizens of their own countries they would have opposed. At the same time, the IFUW did not federate any national association that debarred qualified university women by reason of race, religion or political opinion, a process of abjection around unreason and the unreasonable.

Conclusion

Arato, Gampert and Hallsten-Kallia, three women concerned with reason and science to perfect the future. Stories that tell of challenges and tensions in the practices of cosmopolitanism as mode of enquiry. Stories that tell of the challenges and tensions for women of cosmpolitanism in terms of positionality and movement through social space. Stories that tell of the challenges and tensions of holding together divergent local narratives, strategies and subjectivities and a universal frame. Stories that tell of the challenges for historians of terms like humanity, international and cosmopolitan, with their silent codings of relations of gender, race, religion, nation and class. Stories that speak of cosmpolitanism and the need for care in habits of coexistence in daily life. As Appiah urges:

[84] IBE, *La situation de la femme mariée e dans L'enseignement*, 21**;** Garver, « Women in the First Czechoslovak Republic », 66.

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> we should learn about people in other places. Take an interest in their civilisations, their arguments, their errors, their achievements, not because that will bring us to agreement, but because it will help us get used to one another. … Understanding one another may be hard; it can certainly be interesting. But it doesn't require that we come to agreement.[85]

[85] Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism*, 78.